

## **WHAT IS THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE?**

HON. JOHN R. RARICK OF LOUISIANA IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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Mr. RARICK.

Mr. Speaker, the average man on the street usually responds to the mention of the Anti-Defamation League with the question, "What is the Anti-Defamation League?"

Perhaps an introduction to the answer is provided by the ADL itself in its author's acknowledgment in the book, "Danger on the Right": Situated strategically in 27 cities across the country and in the national offices of the Anti-Defamation League in New York City are men and women whose daily assignment is the accumulation of data about extremist movements on the American scene.

To many Americans it seems incredible that a master snooping organization could exist in the United States without the common knowledge of the average American who reads the newspapers and watches his TV and tries to stay abreast of what is going in his country. To such citizens it is inconceivable beyond belief that an organization of such size and devious operation could exist in their country without somehow being brought to their attention. In Washington, D.C., their plush and expensive office and operations are located at 1640 Rhode Island Avenue NW., Phone No. Ex 3-5284.

Yesterday in my speech under a special order entitled "ADL-Super Pressure Group-Gestapo of the Establishment," page H11869, I extended my remarks with a comprehensive report on the ADL authored by the late State Senator Jack B. Tenney of California. In Senator Tenney's writing, he explains in great detail how and why the ADL has been able to use its power to remain almost unknown to the American public.

Another description of the Anti-Defamation League was prepared by the Church League of America, 422 North Prospect Street, Wheaton, Ill., and published in its report, "News and Views," for January 1965, volume 28, No.1. I include the article, "What is the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith" by the Church League of America in the RECORD at this point, followed by the preface to the ADL's publication, "Danger on the Right":

## **WHAT IS THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH?**

Definitions:

Semitic, a. 1. of, characteristic of, or like a Semite or the Semites. 2. designating or of a major group of languages of southwestern Asia and northern Africa, related to the Hamitic languages and divided into East Semitic (Akkadian), North West Semitic (Phoenician, Punic, Aramaic, Hebrew, Modern Hebrew, etc.), and South West Semitic (Arabic, Ethiopic, Amharic)

Anti-Semitic, a. 1. having or showing prejudice against Jews; dislike and fear of Jews and Jewish things. 2. discrimination against or persecution of Jews. (From Webster's New Twentieth Century Dictionary, Unabridged, Second Edition, 1956)

The word "Anti-Semitism" conjures up immediately in the minds of most Americans and those who recall the horrors of the Hitler regime a terrible thing. No normal American or Christian could condone persecution of anyone of another religion, either mental or physical.

The definitions given above from Webster's Dictionary are puzzling, however. Puzzling because the first word defined includes Akkadians, Phoenicians, Punics, Aramaics, Hebrews, Modern Hebrews, Arabs, Ethiopians and Amharics while the second defined word (the first with the prefix "anti," meaning "against," in front of it) includes only Jews, to the exclusion of all the rest of the Semites. How can it be that the word "Semite" can lose its inclusive meaning when the prefix "anti" is added to it and be applied only to one of the ethnic groups of the eight originally named?

When, where and how were the other ethnic groups excluded from slander and persecution as connotated by the present day use of the word "anti-Semitism?" Are words being stolen out of their dictionary meanings and being used as smear terms by individuals and organizations who are seeking word weapons with which to defame and destroy the characters and influences of those who have no use for "anti-Semitism" in any form, no matter which branch of the Semite family is affected, but with whom the smear peddlers may disagree on some political issue or economic theory?

We have received numerous inquiries asking-"What is the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith?" We present here a survey made in an effort to give our friends some factual information about this organization that recently sponsored a slanderous book called "Danger on the Right" in which the two authors (officials of the Anti-Defamation League) arrogated to themselves the liberty to include the Church League of America in public print in a way to give the impression that we are a collaborating part of some hideous mythical thing they have designated as "the Radical Right".

These authors have dressed this fanciful ogre-this new plaything of the Left-in ugly and odious garments with a clear purpose of stigmatizing with suspicion the Church League of America and the thousands of good and honorable people who are part and parcel of the Christian-American work we are doing. A compounding damage resulting from this maliciously imaginative book is that it serves to stimulate and to encourage press reviewers and a certain brand of commentators to reinforce their own pathological excitement by giving further currency to this politically inspired romanticism.

In issuing this survey by our task force we have no intention of being baited into retaliation with a barrage of name-calling invectives or any other kind of verbal brawling. It is with pity and reluctance that we give answer at all to a group-voice that, according to never-ending complaints about "minority persecution," would seem to need friends more than the natural results that come from provoking antagonisms. Nevertheless this group that capitalizes its own persecution has made a target of the Church League of America (whose work is directed at defending the Christian religion from its avowed Communist-network enemy) and we must perforce defend against this unprovoked attack by examining the source to find, if possible, the reason why our good name was included in this volume of fuss and fury - a book that one reader has termed "an irresponsible and incredulous effort at muckraking."

Literature that emphasizes "enemies." We find that over a considerable period of years this vaguely known organization called the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith has been publishing and distributing books similar to its latest "Danger on the Right"- and a vast amount of other literature - for the apparent purpose of dramatizing its own particular conception of how our American mores should be changed to fit a new left liberal "social order." This literature and a related activities program would indicate a purpose to frighten an unorganized public into non-resistance by making it appear that those who believe in time-honored and time tested conservatism have suddenly become something evil called the "Radical Right."

There is another clear reason also for invective literature that dramatizes hideous and evil "enemies" (such as a monstrous "Radical Right") and that is to keep the checks coming. One of the most vitriolic papers in the race-stirring business is the Heritage published in Los Angeles. It was one of the first to take up the "radical right" as a war cry and With that general theme it has Within a few years skyrocketed from nothing to a considerable following. Its issue of June 28, 1962 carried a story headlined " 'Rights' Threat to U.S. Jews." The story quoted Benjamin Epstein, national director of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith as warning that "the 'radical right' is fertile soil for anti-Semitism."

This is the same man who co-authored the latest literary effort of the Anti-Defamation League--a book called "Danger on the Right" which, for reasons best known to these artful authors, has managed to bring references to the Church League of America into its "loving embrace." One of the fine arts of the left-liberal crusaders has been adroitly to destroy its conservative opposition by manipulating, through vulgar innuendo or by manufacturing some devious association, an image to create the impression that the opponent "is anti-Semitic." This has been Widely practiced with deadly effect. While these authors have not been bold or foolish enough to charge the Church League of America with such an odious offense, yet this characteristic attention in a book like this certainly arouses a suspicion of purpose. Some of our friends may be interested in knowing the background of the left-liberal crusade against what it calls the "Radical Right." In October-November of 1960 the Soviets convened a "Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties" in Moscow which was attended by delegates from 81 Communist Parties throughout the world representing 36 million voluntary and involuntary Communists.

At the close of the meeting the Communist leaders issued a Manifesto which was a scorching attack on the "reactionaries" of America as the principal enemies of what the Communists call progressive change. At that meeting a world "party-line" was laid down to start a drive on those reactionaries who stand in the way of the new social order. The Communists in America almost immediately began the crusade against what they termed the "Ultra-Right." This party-line was announced to the comrades at large and the hitch-hiking liberals in a Party magazine called Political Affairs which is regularly used for that purpose. In its issue of August, 1961, Communist leader Gus Hall did the announcing with an article titled "The Ultra-Right, Kennedy and the Role of Progressives".

All through the article he pounded hard on the terms "Ultra-Right" and "extreme right." This was the same Gus Hall who, in the Communist Daily Worker, April 5, 1950, was the first on record to introduce the term "McCarthyism." Our American liberal-coterie quickly grabbed that shibboleth and wore it threadbare flagellating the individuals and groups they did not like. Almost everyone not left of center suddenly became a "McCarthyite". When time dulled the edge of that ugly word, the crusading-left eagerly grasped the new slogan-weapons of "Ultra-Right"-"Extremists"-and "Radical- Right" so conveniently provided for them.

This survey, if it is to serve any useful purpose, must necessarily be both factual and forthright. It will, however, hold to a vocabulary that will not retaliate in kind. It will simply go to the record and let that speak for itself. Wherever the term Anti-Semitism appears it will do so only as an unavoidable part of an over-all record of our assailants which reveals such continuous use of this revolting term in reference to others that it becomes inescapably suspect as an instrument of opprobrium in an ever-widening assault on our traditional pattern of American conservatism by people who, for reasons best known to themselves, have elected to point some kind of a finger of suspicion at the Church League of America.

To clear any misconception: It should be explained that the Anti-Defamation League is not an independent organization as some people probably imagine but is a "Committee" attached to a very large organization with branches and lodges in American cities and towns from coast to coast where there are Jewish people in substantial numbers. This parent organization is known as B'nai B'rith - and it has grown to represent Jewry throughout the world. This reference is not to cast reflection upon B'nai B'rith in its honorable role as a Jewish fraternal organization-but is made solely as a matter of identification for its sub-organization (or committee) - the Anti-Defamation League.

This identification is necessary to show that the actions and policies of ADL are rooted in the largest Jewish membership organization in the world. While the management-control of the Anti-Defamation League may have been appropriated by a small aggressive clique - and it may be even true that B'nai B'rith members in general may not know what this ADL is doing-nevertheless the wide membership responsibility is there and this fact cannot be ignored or omitted from a factual examination of this issue in which the Church League of America has been introduced into the dark room of suspicion. It is through B'nai B'rith prestige that its Anti-Defamation League is able to raise incredulously large sums of money to issue such muckraking literature as "Danger On The Right" and it must be left to the American public as the final arbiter as to what is right and who is right in the conflict that is now raging to change the basic pattern of Americanism.

While the Anti-Defamation League functions as a committee of B'nai B'rith it appears that orthodoxy has not always been its rigid rule. Editor Fishbein of the Chicago Sentinel (Nov. 15, 1951) in his full page editorial dealt with some of the shortcomings of Jewish "The Anti-Defamation League," he wrote, "is involved in a somewhat different quandary. It appears that some leaders of the Chicago B'nai B'rith have recently uncovered a most amazing fact-namely, that the majority of the ADL's Board are not even selected by B'nai B'rith. This has been no secret to anyone familiar with the workings of this 'defense agency.' Its policies in the main, have always been dictated by members of the American Jewish Committee who have nothing in common with the average B'nai B'rither.

The two are as far apart as day and night. Eli Aaron, for instance, who represented Chicago at the recent national meeting of the Joint Defense Appeal upon whom the ADL is totally dependent for its funds, is not even a member of B'nai B'rith. He is the Chicago Chairman of the American Jewish Committee. This explains why the ADL has rarely, if ever, reflected the thinking of the men and women of B'nai B'rith whom they are supposed to be serving." After a number of years of being harnessed together through the money-raising agency called Joint Defense Appeal, the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League dropped the arrangement in 1962 with some intimation that each would raise its own funds.

In 1963, however, the Anti-Defamation League, continuing as an adjunct of B'nai B'rith, was back in the general over-all Jewish fund distributing organizational arrangement. The funds for ADL's work covers a wide range of activity (as this survey will indicate) including the publishing of such books as "Danger On The Right" where a strained effort is made to derogate the Church League of America. The parent organization: B'nai B'rith (meaning roughly 'Children of the Covenant') was organized October 13, 1843 in Sinsheimer's Cafe on New York's East Side where most of the Jews then in this country (some 20,000 immigrants, according to the Chicago Sentinel) were living. It was, of course, a natural thing for these people, mainly speaking a foreign language and not understanding American ways, to organize for social and fraternal purposes. Gradually Jewish communities, through propagation and immigration, spread and likewise did the B'nai B'rith lodges, until today they are scattered all over the country. This is now widely recognized as a tremendously active and powerful bloc in America.

The offspring: In 1913 Sigmund Livingston, a well known Chicago lawyer, with a small number of his friends, feeling a need for an educational movement to improve the image of the Jewish people in a milieu where there was considerable criticism of a rapidly expanding immigrant population, often strangers to our American traditions, organized the Anti-Defamation League and succeeded in having it made a Committee of B'nai B'rith where it was called the "educational unit" of that organization. There certainly could be no proper objection to an organization which appeared to have a fine, cultural purpose. Actually, however, the Committee hung more or less lifeless for at least its first ten years.

Very little was heard of it and very little was done by it-largely because of the general mores of the times (the American zeitgeist) causing its sponsors apparently to tread softly with it. The years, in one way and another, have brought great change in this situation. Today the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith is widely recognized as a powerfully active movement (which is supported by its record) and by some is considered to be one of the most potent factors of compelling influence in the political and social-action fields in America today.

The leap forward begins: In 1931 a young man (about 43) named Richard H. Gutstadt, who had made quite a record as an organizer in the Jewish community field, was appointed as National Director of the Anti-Defamation League which was now about to take on a new career. Mr. Gutstadt was the man-of-the-times for the ADL job as it began to take its stride. He quickly made something out of nothing. He put ADL into action with vim and vigor - on both the offensive and defensive-with "Anti-Semitism" or Semitism (whichever is the more applicable) as the war cry. By that is meant that ADL went into vigorous action against all individuals, organizations, and policies that were considered to be inimical to Jewish interests. Some of this was understandably appropriate-but there is always the danger that self-anointed power will inflate itself to the status of "extremism" and even arrogance.

Great liberals like Felix Frankfurter, New York's Senator Wagner and others were, about that time, grooming Franklin Roosevelt for the Presidency. He was elected in 1932 and by the time the revolutionary New Deal had begun to roll and stir the country into turmoil in 1933 Mr. Gutstadt sent out a letter that fitted well into the new political climate. The letter was on Anti-Defamation League stationery (with the words "of B'nai B'rith" omitted - and dated December 13, 1933. It read in part as follows: "Scribner & Sons Just published a book by Madison Grant entitled 'The Conquest of a Continent'. It is extremely antagonistic to the Jewish interests . . . We are interested in stifling the sales of this book. We believe that this can be best accomplished by refusing to be stampeded into giving it publicity . . . We therefore appeal to you to refrain from comment on this book ... It is our conviction that a general compliance with this request will sound the warning to other publishing houses against engaging in this type of venture." (The letter was signed by Richard H. Gutstadt, Director.)

Madison Grant was a highly regarded writer and historian of the time. His book "Conquest of a Nation" dealt with the opening of America, showing how the Nordic peoples had contributed to the conquest of the American wilderness. That was his sin. The Anti-Defamation League group complained that the book (1) had emphasized the Nordic theory; (2) had negated the melting-pot philosophy; and (3) the book was generally objectionable to Jewish interests. From this period came a development that has reached its ultimate in the book-selling and publishing field where these business people now well know what books to leave alone. The late John T. Flynn, notable writer with a liberal background, suddenly discovered after he became an outspoken conservative that his books were no longer being pushed by either his publisher or the large bookstores. It was not long until he learned that rumors of "anti-Semitism" had been skillfully sneaked into the right places about him - rumors that were completely without foundation!

More book suppression: On October 4, 1955 Henry E. Schultz, national chairman of the Anti-Defamation League, wrote a lengthy irritating letter to Lt. General George E. Stratemeyer requesting him to withdraw his

endorsement of Dr. John O. Beaty's "Iron Curtain Over America" dealing with Communism. The distinguished soldier replied with a scorching letter excoriating the ADL official for insinuating an "anti-Semitic" angle, and also said: "Not until I read John Beaty's book did I learn what was going on back in the United States while I was overseas fighting for my country" and then demanded to know if the ADL letter was "a veiled threat to my free expression and thoughts? If so," General Stratemeyer continued, "your letter is the most outrageous communication I have ever received."

On February 19, 1954, Rabbi Robert E. Kahn of Houston, Texas, known for his vigilance in such matters, wrote a letter to L. E. Page, Commander, American Legion, Department of Texas, about the Beaty book (which had been endorsed in a Legion list of books) demanding that the Un-American Activities Committee of the Hutchinson County Post be asked to "disavow this book (and any others of similar character on the list) by (1) dispatching a letter to those to whom the original list was sent, and (2) publishing their regrets in the Texas Legionnaire and the American Legion Magazine. "I should like to hear from you about this."

Dr. John Beaty, who aroused the ADL people to such militant ire and action, was a well-recognized professor of English at Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas; author of numerous books (some of which were used in hundreds of colleges and universities); a scholar of high repute holding several university degrees including earned and honorary doctorates; fluent in several languages; a patriot who had served his country for five years in Military Intelligence Service in World War II.

American citizens feel keenly the importance of free choice and free expression. The first Article of the Bill of Rights states forcefully that the Government (Congress) shall make no law "abridging the freedom of speech." In the face of this we find other forces continuously trying to tinker with these basic freedoms. Early in Mr. Gutstadt's administration of ADL an interesting situation arose in Oklahoma. The brilliant editor of the Tulsa Daily Tribune, Richard Lloyd Jones, wrote an editorial that became a cause celebre in ADL ranks. It seems that Mr. Jones, along with other newspaper editors, had been receiving continual appeals from a New York headquartered "Committee for the Jewish Army" urging publishers to raise money for an advertising campaign and to aid in organizing local groups to help establish and officer a "Jewish army" to deal, in some undefined way, with Hitler's Germany. One of the New York committee's communications that had perhaps nettled Mr. Jones, declared: "We shall not rest until the American people are aroused to their full responsibilities." Editor Jones took his pencil in hand and wrote a stirring editorial titled "The American Flag For All of Us" which ran in his paper February 27, 1943. Here are brief extracts from that editorial: "This committee shrieks at the outrage of Germans murdering Jews. So do we all. We go further. We shriek at the outrage of Germans murdering Gentiles as well as Jews. Our Government and our Allies have an increasingly growing army to halt the Germans . . . No one ever spoke of a German-Gentile, but this committee asks for an army to protect the German-Jew . . . The Jews in America have for many years maintained an anti-defamation society. We have had no anti-defamation black-mailers among the Americans of Scotch, Danish, Dutch or any other antecedents."

This rather hard-hitting but respectful pointing-up of rather unpleasant facts stirred a furor in ADL ranks. The Jewish Examiner (April 9, 1943) said in part: "When the editorial appeared, the wires were burned up with frantic telegrams. Richard Gutstadt of the ADL hopped on a plane to Tulsa and with a delegation of local leaders called upon the editor. There was quite a pow-pow, but the writer of the diatribe stuck to his guns." To which was appended a rather unfavorable characterization of the editor. Do the anti-defamation league people believe in freedom of expression where it conflicts with their interests? In Al Smith's words, "let us look at the record." The National Jewish Post of May 19, 1950 reported how the ADL bluntly banned the speech of a high Government official at its Chicago convention in mid-May of 1950. The following excerpt is taken from the Jewish Post story: "Several hours before Benjamin J. Bittenwieser, assistant High Commissioner of Germany, was to speak to the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith at its annual meeting here (Chicago), he was told that he had been removed from the program because of his views on denazification." The action was widely criticized - even by some members of B'nai B'rith such as Brig. Gen. Julius Klein. An example of indirect action: In Seattle a nationally known women's organization invited a Chicago author to address them on March 1, 1951. He spoke on Communist Activities in the United States. 500 women were present. Sometime later the chairman received a letter from a local furniture dealer saying - "I am sure you would not have had this man as a speaker if you had known his background," and enclosed a three-page anonymous "report" on the man. The chairman asked for its source. The furniture man replied (by letter) that it came from the Anti-Defamation League and gave its Seattle address. The report of twisted insinuations was analyzed paragraph by paragraph with the facts and the chairman agreed it was meaningless. The speaker was charged with having defended Colonel Charles Lindbergh.

This one point was factual. It happened at a time when a hand-maiden New York front called "Friends of Democracy" was defaming Colonel Lindbergh with scurrilous booklets because it had not liked a speech he made in Des Moines in 1941 for "America First," naming three forces that were pushing America into World War II. Few people today realize what has been happening in the free speech forums such as service clubs, civic organizations, college halls, and even churches. A "climate" has been created where very few of the institutions mentioned now have the courage to book a speaker who has factual information on Communism or its network or on any critical aspect of the left liberal establishment that is now slowly closing its pincer embrace on the traditions that have made this the country it is-or was. All that is necessary to make a speaker or almost any one person non grata in public today is to get him labeled with something like "bigot"- "extremist"-or "radical Rightist". The purpose of such labeling is to destroy. Traditional American courage to resist is slowly succumbing to asphyxia from the left.

None dare call it extremism: In the May, 1955 issue of an old established trade magazine (The North American Veterinarian) published in Evanston, Illinois, there appeared a small want-ad by a Detroit veterinarian who wanted an assistant and who asked the applicant to "State religious denomination." Some time later the publisher in Illinois received a letter from the New York State Commission Against Discrimination signed by Commissioner N. R. Pinto, a New York lawyer, explaining that this ad violated this New York law (enacted through minority pressure) - and requesting a statement that the offense would not be repeated. It was found as a matter of record that the complaint had been filed by Monroe R. Sheinberg, New York Regional Director of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

Demands for submission kept coming for months - but were ignored. Complaints from the same general source have also been filed with the Commission Against Discrimination against certain resort hotels for having posted signs reading "Churches Nearby." This was claimed to be a ruse to indicate that the hotels wanted only Gentile or Christian guests. The watchful eye sees all. "In the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith we have a unique opportunity to watch the professional bigots, the superpatriots, the dark reactionaries, under the pretense of fighting Communism - striking not at Communism, but the free institutions that have made America great." So spoke Henry R. Schultz, national chairman, Anti-Defamation League-Chicago Sentinel, May 21, 1963. "Such coalition," continued Mr. Schultz, "faces us with a constant threat for it gives sanction to bigotry and provides an atmosphere in which organized anti-Semitism can play upon the fears of the people." The Sentinel article quoted the late New York banker and Senator, Herbert H. Lehman who was also Honorary Chairman of the Anti-Defamation League, as spelling out the danger of "creeping McCarthyism" and calling it a "subtle poison which has already eaten deep into the muscles and sinews of our body politic."

The use of the term "McCarthyism" by the redoubtable Mr. Lehman is interesting. It is a matter of unchallenged record that this ugly symbolism was first used by Communist leader Gus Hall in the Daily Worker, April 5, 1950. It was quickly grasped as a destructive psychological instrument by the whole battle-front of liberals - all of whom seemed to have something at stake in senator McCarthy's disclosures. True, he was a hardhitting "spot-lighter" of the Communist mess when Communism had spread its espionage cells throughout Government agencies (all a matter of record) and such political crucifixion seems to be the price any exposé of Communism must pay today.

ADL and "McCarthyism." The anti-Semitic cry was injected into the crusade against senator McCarthy when he began an exposure of a security situation at the Army's strategic signal corps and radar center at Fort Monmouth, New Jersey where, according to the Chicago Sentinel (April 22, 1954) 45 employees "41 of whom were believed to be Jews" were suspended for inquiry because of security reasons. The New Jersey Anti-Defamation League went into action. The matter was so big that the national office of ADL soon took charge. The Chicago Sentinel quoted Arnold Forster, director of civil rights of the Anti-Defamation League, to the effect that ADL had made a thorough investigation of anti-Semitic elements in the situation and had forwarded a report to Secretary of the Army Stevens. This report was reliably otherwise described as placing a charge of "Anti-Semitism" against the U.S. Army. Washington responded to this like it was a bubonic plague. The McCarthy committee was turning up information about the Fort Monmouth personnel and the commander there, Major Gen. Kirke B. Lawton was doing his duty in suspending them. Without further details as to what happened, it may be said this was the beginning of the end for the McCarthy committee.

The Anti-Defamation League seems to entertain a dim view of Congressional committees investigating Communist activities. The New York Post (November 22, 1953) carried a story headed - "Sees Red Probes Spreading Fear" in which it said "The chairman of B'nai B'rith's Anti-Defamation League has charged that Congressional committees often spread fear and confusion in their efforts to capture headlines." The Chicago

Sentinel (August 31, 1950) reported that the "Anti-Defamation League and other Jewish Groups condemn the Mundt Bill". This was a proposed bill to deal with Communist subversion which later was passed as the Internal Security Act of 1950, often referred to as the "McCarran Act." This is legislation that the Communists have derided and fought and have accomplished essential destruction of the Act through Supreme Court decisions while a cacophony of Act-criticism by our great liberals has cheered them on. The proposed Mundt bill, according to the ADL group, "represents a hysterical approach," to the subversion problem. They preferred a softer bill like the ones proposed by their own Congressman Celler or liberal Mr. Magnuson.

ADL interest in Congress and its activities is further highlighted by a report in the Congressional Record of November 20, 1947. Congressman Clare Hoffman (Michigan) was discussing on the House floor an investigation made by the House Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Department to learn if Federal funds had been used to install in the Civil Service Commission's office an extensive file of some 250,000 cards containing "information, statements, rumors, hearsay, and gossip bearing on the views, opinions and actions of Senators, Senators' wives, Congressmen and individuals in public life."

Congressman Hoffman then inserted into the Congressional Record some of the questions and answers of the investigation. The Chairman of the Congressional committee asked the questions. James E. Hatcher, Chief of the Investigations Division of the U.S. Civil Service Commission, gave the answers. The Committee chairman said: "It is my understanding that on many of these cards, or at least on some of them, there is a notation, or was a notation, like this: 'The above was copied from the subversive files in the possession of attorneys Mintzer and Levy, 39 Broadway, New York City, room 3305. Their files were made up in cooperation with the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League. The source of this information must not be disclosed under any circumstances nor be quoted. However, further information concerning above may be secured by contacting officers of Mintzer and Levy.' That information," continued the chairman, "is on the bottom of cards that carry information to the effect that individuals named, senators and Congressmen, were disloyal, belonged to subversive groups, engaged perhaps in traitorous activities."

Mr. Hatcher replied that the "card system" had been started without any proper authority and such particular cards would be disposed of - but the whole matter raises grave questions. Congressman Hoffman in introducing this matter observed that a public official, especially a Congressman, invites disaster when he enters into controversy with reporters, editors, commentators and other powerful forces - but that making this a matter of public record was likewise a matter of principle with him. On November 13, 1952, Milton Friedman of the Jewish Telegraph Agency, reported in the Chicago Sentinel that "Rep. Clare E. Hoffman, of Michigan, is listed by the ADL as hostile 'to the Jewish people' . . . He is described by the ADL as a defender of American bigots tried for sedition during World War II . . . As a distributor of anti-Jewish literature through the Congressional Record."

The ADL was further quoted by Friedman as claiming that Rep. Hoffman, In 1949, had told a House Committee considering an F.E.P.C. bill that "There Is no such thing as discrimination against the Jews. In this country, if I understand the situation clearly, the Jews have the world by the tail. They are on top." Among the activities of the Anti-Defamation League is its eagerness to help Christian churches, schools and other organizations prepare their literature and form their policies. In a 38-page booklet titled FACTS, the American Jewish Committee (at the time, March, 1951, closely associated with the Anti-Defamation League) had a statement of program and policy showing the many working arrangements with other organizations. "We supply Christian religious publications with prepared materials, articles, and stories, depicting Jewish life (the booklet says) and . . . current issues which particularly affect American Jews." • • • "Through the newly created Division of Christian Education of the National Council of Churches, the AJC and ADL we jointly have an unprecedented opportunity to aid in the preparation of lesson materials, study guides, audio-visual aids, etc., for use in educational activities sponsored by the Protestant churches and organizations." • • • "An analysis of films depicting the Crucifixion story, used in religious educational activities, was completed during 1950 and the results made available to community councils. . . . A more complete survey is currently under way to discover distortions as well as omissions with respect to Jews and Judaism, past and present. Since over 3,000 Protestant churches now use films and film strips as part of their educational program, this provides an important area in which corrective action is indicated." • • • From page 34 of the 1953 AJC Report (of its 45th annual meeting) we read: "In the months just passed, AJC and ADL have cooperated closely with the National Council of Churches of Christ in the planning and execution of special leadership training courses for ministers and religious educators .... Meetings with top Protestant leaders were established on a regular basis in 1952, not alone for discussion of religious education but on issues and problems of concern to all of us: church-state matters, immigration, Unesco, and Human Rights Cooperative programs of education and social action ... " Interesting cooperation.

Many Christians who find but little solace in the policies of the National Council of Churches will be interested to find the ADL people so anxious to work with the N.C.C. During the period mentioned of close cooperation, the National Council of Churches has come under heavy criticism from a wide range of Christians because of its radical-liberalism. This cooperation is also interesting because the historic Christian movement is centered around the deity of Jesus which is a doctrine completely unacceptable to the ADL-AJC religious viewpoint.

Activities in field of education: According to the New York Journal (Oct. 5, 1956) "The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith today refused to accept partial censorship of its 'Social Memo and Date Book' for teachers as requested by the superintendent of schools for Dade County (Miami, Florida)." "The refusal," says the New York paper, "was made by Henry E. Schultz, national chairman of ADL after the Florida board voted 4 to 1 yesterday to ban the book . . . Schultz said they would, under no circumstances submit to censorship." The Memo books had spaces for "Appointments" "Memoranda" and "Reminders" which covered three pages of recommendations for films, pamphlets, books, records, plays, songs, and other Anti-Defamation League offerings on race, bigotry and the ideologies with which ADL deals. • • •

The Alhambra (Calif.) Post-Advocate (Sept. 17, 1954) carried a story headed- "ADL Gives Book Covers to Local High Schools." "One thousand paper book covers, attacking racial prejudice," the paper said, "were presented to the Alhambra and Mark Keppel High Schools yesterday. Stephen S. Tessler, regional chairman of the Anti-Defamation League made the presentation." The book covers depicting imaginary "racial" incidents "were distributed to the students." One of the Incidents showed a group of boys about to play a sand-lot game. Two of the boys are differing and arguing about another who is a Negro youth. Dramatizing such improbable matters has been widely criticised.

Among ADL films and booklets for children (and adults as well) are imaginary conflicts of rather extreme race situations. Typical is a 38-page booklet titled "The Rabbit Brothers." It consists of rabbit cartoons with some wording on each page - a sort of running story starting with Joe and George, twin white rabbits. While growing up they play together and watch the same TV programs. Joe soon begins to develop prejudices - and this makes him want to hurt other rabbits - tell bad jokes about them-and he grows really mean when a brown colored rabbit moves in next to him. Joe crosses the street rather than meet a rabbit of another color and so on. It brings the racial issue to school children early--probably before most of them are conscious of race. ADL sponsors a vast amount of films, booklets, car-cards, blotters and other materials emphasizing what seems to be extremes in imaginary racial conflicts. An astonishing tendency to suppress has been noted in many ADL activities as documented in this survey.

One well publicized case was an attempt to ban the British film "Oliver Twist" from showing in this country when, in 1951, Britain's foremost film producer, Sir Arthur Rank, released this dramatization of the story by Charles Dickens. The ADL (according to the Chicago Sentinel, July 19, 1951) charged that the general behavior of the character Fagin in the play, including his 'hooked nose' appearance- "could fan anti-Semitic sentiment in this country." This same Sentinel (Aug. 8, 1951) carried the column of the late Rabbi G. George Fox (closely associated with ADL) which they titled "Rabbi Warns Community of Inherent Dangers in Fagin Caricature; asks Boycott of British-Produced Film." The protests stopped the film showing. It was admitted, however, that the film had been shown in Canada without stirring 'Anti-Bemitism'. The British producer, nevertheless, had to retake parts of the film until it was "acceptable" to the hypersensitive protesters before being shown in the United States.

Is discrimination a one-way street? Here are a few more examples of how the ADL battle "to make America over" is being waged on many fronts. An ADL Bulletin (one of their many publications) was quoted in a full page of the Chicago Sentinel (Aug. 30, 1956) with this headline: "Are We Winning the Fight Against Medical School Quotas?" The article discussed what it called a "quota system" (limiting school admittance to population percentages) in the New York Medical schools - and what to do about it. Since then the Albert Einstein Medical School at Yeshiva University has been opened. Out of the \$171 million received by Yeshiva last year, \$12.6 million went to the medical school.

Fraternities and sororities. The Sentinel (Nov. 15, 1956) carried a story titled "U. of Arizona Asked Not to Lease State Land to Biased Frats." The story explained that the Anti-Defamation League had been in discussion over this matter of "discrimination" of private fraternities with the University authorities. It is not news that ADL has been an important force in the drive to take from fraternities and sororities the right to have certain rules restricting selection of their own members. • • • Private clubs, hotels and other organizations also have been under ADL fire to prohibit discriminative selection. The Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph (Nov. 1, 1953) carried a story which read in part -



"Judge Samuel A. Weiss, an officer of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith called for prompt legal action against a leading Pocono resort hotel accused of discriminating against Jews." • • • From the Chicago Sentinel (April 17, 1952) "Justice Meier Steinbrink, national chairman of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, this week filed a formal complaint With the New Jersey Division Against Discrimination, charging that he was dented accommodations by hotel in Atlantic City." • • • A news story in the Chicago Sentinel (Nov. 25, 1954) told of how Deputy U.S. Attorney General William P. Rogers had promised Henry Edward Schultz, national chairman of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, that he would not register at a certain hotel in Phoenix, Arizona where a meeting of the National Association of Attorneys General was being held-because of an alleged policy of discrimination by that hotel.

The anti-defamation league type of complex or super-sensitivity (which has been called "super-Semitism") has resulted in so many cases of "resistance" such as those already cited that there are many, both Gentiles and Jews, who believe this sort of aggressive and provocative propaganda and action is doing as much harm as good. For instance, the controversy over prayer in schools has stirred widespread feeling. The (Jewish) American Examiner (Sept. 6, 1962) carried a story showing antagonisms can easily spread out of induced super-sensitivity. The story indicates that quite a ruckus developed when the Hicksville (N.Y.) school board complied with a ruling by New York State Educational Commissioner that a part of the National Anthem that contains the phrase "In God We Trust" could not be used as an official school prayer. According to the American Examiner, the State Commissioner had made the ruling in response to a demanding petition presented by Mrs. Miriam Rubenstein, and the liberal Catholic weekly "America" ran an editorial (first week of September, 1962) "asserting that Jewish espousal of bans on religious practices in public schools was responsible for creating anti-Semitic reactions among Catholics:" The editorial in "America" was challenged by the American Jewish Committee and Dore Schary, now chairman of the Anti-Defamation League.

The liberal "Christian Century" jumped into the fray on the side of the Jews and the American Legion distributed 100,000 copies of a prayer for the schools. Is it too much to say that this continuous agitation among the Jewish people, financed by millions of dollars in a so-called "antidefamation program is heightening rather than lessening frictions? Here is another muststration. The late Rabbi George Fox of Chicago, in his August 7, 1952 column in the Sentinel, quoted a letter he had received from a lady "who had been all her life vitally interested in Jewish matters. She had complained to the Rabbi that he had not dwelt enough on the "Jewish issue involved in the Rosenberg case." The lady maintained that the Rosenbergs were singled out because they were Jews." it made no difference to her that it was a Jew (Judge Kaufman) who had sentenced them to death for betraying atomic secrets to Russia.

Is it not reasonable to assume that the constant flow of literature to the Jewish people magnifying the issue of "anti-Semitism" could encourage rather than discourage suspicions? The very same column quoted another letter from an unnamed person who wished to "present a bouquet" to the Anti-Defamation League. The letter explained that "the enemies of Israel" (no further identification), held a meeting in Chicago concurrently with the political convention. They had a lot of literature to distribute when "participating in, if not directing the selection of General MacArthur for the Republican nomination of President . . . The ADL wise-heads caught some hints about this action and got busy ... " The letter goes on to say that the national executive of ADL and some of his co-workers "persuaded the police department that it was for the best interests of our country to prevent the distribution of this subversive propaganda . . . not a leaf got into the amphitheater . . ."

Regardless of how much truth about the police participation, the story was printed in one of America's largest Jewish papers. It seems hardly necessary to go on with further documentation on the background and influence of the Anti-Defamation League--all of which is presented in reply to inquiries from people who have either seen or heard about the Church League of America being "listed" in a recent book sponsored by the Anti-Defamation League and suggestively titled "Danger on the Right."

## ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE - ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

A natural question that arises as one becomes familiar with the wide-range activity and programs of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith is: How is it possible for one organization to have such network coverage of the whole United States?

The first answer to that is that the Anti-Defamation League is the hub of a great working wheel. It has friendly working arrangements with countless other organizations and thousands of willing individuals who may be outside the organizational structure of ADL itself. In addition to their own Jewish organizations, most of which are sympathetic and cooperative with ADL objectives, there has been established other project-collaborating organizations like the National Conference of Christians and Jews - and working arrangements have been accomplished also with many non-Jewish Church groups, educational institutions, Foundations, labor groups, and political or Government agencies.

The ramifications that have been established by ADL during the last 30 years are almost unbelievable. The Anti-Defamation League has a pyramidal structure. At the top is its National Office in New York City. It maintains three major offices with extensive files and dossiers covering hundreds of thousands of individuals, organizations and subjects. These main offices are in New York, Chicago and Los Angeles. These are major activity centers with large personnel, investigators, and promotion workers. It is not possible, of course, to know just how or where files are kept. There was a time when banks of filing cabinets were in the main Chicago ADL office.

In the report by Congressman Hoffman (included in this survey) it is indicated that files may also be kept in collaborating lawyers' offices--and even in Washington Government offices. Next in line below these three main offices are Regional Divisions, scattered strategically all over the country. We do not know the precise number at this date. In 1951 there were 25 and three others known as Joint Offices. Each of these Districts has a working territory which it covers well gathering information-keeping a watchful eye on everything in that area that may have any significance to the ADL objectives and program. Very little escapes its close observations. Some of the scope of an ADL Division and national working apparatus may be estimated from a six-page, legal size, Annual Report issued by the Seattle, Washington Regional Office.

We quote from the 1954 report as it describes this working machinery quite succinctly:

"Through the ADL Regional office, the tremendous resource materials of ADL including films, records, posters, books, pamphlets, study kits, etc., have been utilized by thousands of individuals and many hundreds of groups. These countless thousands have had an opportunity to learn about what Jews believe, the problems of minority groups in housing, education, employment, etc., the nature of prejudice, and other related topics. When organizations and communities from tiny Chimicum on the Olympia peninsula to Colville in the northeastern corner of the State, from the Seattle Public School system to the Methodist Church in Grandview, the southern-most part of the State, request and receive films, literature and kits of religious articles about the Jewish religion, the Jewish holidays, inter-group relations, civil rights and civil liberties, immeasurable but constant progress is made towards creating greater understanding. This understanding, particularly among young people, is the insurance policy for the Jewish Community."

The report details its State activities as a Regional branch of the Anti-Defamation League, how it distributes materials, works with organizations of all kinds and how it deals with people who are suspected of being "anti-Semitic." The report, typical we judge of other Regional branches, is too long and detailed to reproduce here. It serves, however, to give some idea of the nationwide operations of the Anti-Defamation League which is widely considered as one of the most powerful and influential organizations operating in the United States today.

AD literature: Outside of its investigative and pressure operations, the Anti-Defamation League leans heavily upon "literature" to carry out its work. We include in the following pages of this survey a report on ADL's "book enterprise" which is its dynamic project to reach and influence the public. One of ADL's communications to "its people" is The ADL Bulletin. The lead article in the March, 1963 issue was "The New Segregation" by Ralph Lazarus, ADL member and president of Federated Department Stores (operators of a large number of department stores, under their old names, throughout the country). The article is about people who live in suburbia and enjoy their seclusion. He calls such communities "Classville" because they are not integrated. In the issue of February, 1963, Dore Schary (now head of ADL) has an article explaining his views on race and religion. In general the Bulletin is a sort of house-organ for ADL.

There is also the ADL Regional Quarterly Report. We quote from a copy of the April 1, 1954 Pacific Southwest report because it contains some descriptive statements. The first page is by the President. He explains ADL as "a philosophy"- as "a program"- and then he says -

"ADL is people. A dedicated group of skilled, creative staff, educators, social scientists, writers, researchers, motion picture and radio producers, rabbis, artists, lawyers, clerical workers, 2,500 community leaders from every part of the nation, serving America and Jewry with vigilance and distinction as lay leaders and regional board members of the ADL committees in every B'nai B'rith lodge and chapter; and, finally, the mighty strength of 350,000 members of B'nai B'rith itself, the most energetic force for the public good ever mobilized within the American Jewish community."

The 18-page report described their various activities functioning out of Los Angeles. Freedom pamphlets. Around 1948 the Anti-Defamation League began publishing a series of booklets which it calls "Freedom Pamphlets"- each by a different author dealing with some special subject. Among the earlier editions were such titles as "Modern Education and Better Human Relations" by the late Dr. William E. Kilpatrick, co-parent of "Progressive Education" with Professor John Dewey. Another of the early issues was "ABC's of Scapegoating" by Gordon Allport. Among the later ones are "Prejudice and Politics" by Taft and Felknor, "Patterns of Minority Relations" by Mack and Duster. The earlier editions sold for 25 cents each but the later ones cost twice that. The Freedom Pamphlets cover subjects that implement the ADL program and get a wider reading because the authors are usually well known in certain fields.

An ADL "Christian Friends Bulletin" was published as a contact messenger with what was organized in 1944 as the Christian Friends of the Anti-Defamation League. The last copy we have of the Bulletin is from 1955 and we have no further information on it than that.

There are publications like "A Group Action Guide" on "Making Democracy Work in Your Community" and many such publications to help in ADL's program of working with civic groups in its "race relations" activities program.

It would be beyond our scope here to attempt a description of the pamphlets, booklets, folders, posters and other forms of literature that are printed and distributed throughout the nation by the vast network of functioning agencies that are part of the ADL organization proper together with collaborating organizations. The volume and the reach is fantastic.

How financed? An authentic source of information on money receipts is the Year Book of the American Jewish Committee. We quote as follows from the 1964 (the latest) AJC Year Book (pages 109-110) :

"The preliminary data for 1963 indicates that the Anti-Defamation League received \$3.2 millions--including almost \$0.6 million from the Joint Distribution Agency campaigns for prior years, and that the American Jewish Committee, similarly, had received \$3.2 millions. (Both agencies had additional income from sales of publications, and the like.) "NCRAC (National Community Relations Advisory Council) served as the coordinating clearance agency for the AJC (American Jewish Congress), JLC (Jewish Labor Committee), JWV (Jewish War Veterans), the three Congregational Associations, and 69 local and regional community relations councils. These four organizations participate in the cooperative budget review process of the Large City Budgeting Conference. In 1963 they were joined by ADL. The five national operating agencies and the NCRAC received \$7.9 millions in 1962 compared with \$7.7 million in 1961."

Listed above are only a few of the main agencies of the network of agencies that also come in for financing. Some of those listed here (American Jewish Committee and American Jewish Congress) have programs that compliment the work of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

## BOOKS ABOUT THE "RIGHT"-NONE ABOUT THE "LEFT"

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith has gone into the book-writing business in a big way to put its "point of view" over to the public. Before taking a look at some of these ADL books it may be noted that this group has long recognized the impressiveness of "words in print." Today as one notes the authors and the nature of their stories in almost any magazine (as well as the flood of paperback books) there is reason to believe that the ADL 1949 "call for writers" may have paid off well.

In the March, 1949 issue of *Writer's Digest* magazine there appeared a letter which read in part: "The Anti-Defamation League is a nonprofit agency that supports civil rights and combats prejudice and discrimination against minority groups. In our campaigns we use many media including advertising, radio, special movie shorts, records, and interest groups such as veterans' Americanism committees, educational associations and the like. "We have now established a press and magazine department. Its main job is to work for a better coverage of human relations subjects in the nation's press and magazines. Our 18 regional offices are in a position to establish contact with regional publications throughout the country. Here, at our national office we use our sources and contacts to place stories in the big general interest magazines .... we have orders for stories now, orders that may be filled by some of your readers. Because this is a non-profit agency, we charge no commission . . . . Our only job is to see that such stories do get published. . . . Please ask your readers to send us their stuff if they think they are qualified." MORTON PUNER, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

We do not know how many of the stories we see in magazines and newspapers today are by ADL inspired writers but we are ready to admit that the Writers' project initiated in 1949 could, by this time, have produced wide-range results. Our purpose here is to take a look at some of the ADL books which have blanketed the country during the last twenty years and measure in some degree the impact that they may have made. The first book sponsored by ADL directly was titled "Must Men Hate?" It was authored by Sigmund Livingston (father of ADL) and published by Harper & Brothers in 1944. The book was devoted to the historical aspects of Jewry and the author's assumption as to the causes of anti-Semitism. It contained a great deal of worthwhile information and was not reckless, as some of their later books have been, in smearing with innuendo and vulgar phrases. The next ADL book, to be openly sponsored, appears to have been "How Secure These Rights?" authored by Ruth G. Weintraub and published in 1949 by Doubleday & Company. The *New York Post* devoted its "Week-End Magazine" (a supplement) to excerpting its strong points for its New York circulation. The book was described as "The Anti-Defamation League's Documented Report of Anti-Semitism Today." John Howard Lawson also reviewed the book with Marxist overtones in the *WORKER* (Oct. 15, 1950). The book was an examination of "patterns of anti-Semitism" as claimed to exist in the United States. At no place in any of the ADL books or literature about Anti-Semitism do we find any precise definition of the term. Its extravagant use in the ADL meaning is an ethnological error. There are millions of Arabs and other groups who are Semites and they make no fuss about "anti-Semitism." In fact the term was hardly known in the United States until it began to be capitalized and publicized by the ADL a few years ago.

"A Measure of Freedom" was the next ADL offering. It was published in 1950, also by Doubleday, and authored by ADL's Arnold Forster. *LOOK* magazine devoted several pages (April 11, 1950) to publicizing it. With this book there began a noticeable change in tone in ADL's "book voice." Here we begin to hear "thunder across the bay" about bigotry. In it lightning flashes and dark clouds roll. On its jacket Walter Winchell flashed "This is a Must." Winchell was also a main radio trumpeter for a 1943 book called "Under Cover" (sponsored by a convenient band-maiden called "Friends of Democracy") which ended in the Federal Court with some black marks.

"The Trouble Makers" was the Anti-Defamation League's next book. It was authored by Arnold Forster and Benjamin Epstein (ADL's top publicists) and published by Doubleday & Company in 1952. Meier Steinbrink, then national chairman of ADL, in his Foreword in the book said: "It is about the trouble makers in our midst - the peddlers and practitioners of prejudice." As one reads these books it is easy to get the impression that all America is afire with something called "bigotry." "Cross Currents" came out as the next ADL also by Forster and published in 1956 by Doubleday & Company. The review release of the book put out for the press said, in part: "Cross Currents . . . uncovers the bigotry, lies and anti-Semitic propaganda plots existing in the United States, Germany and the Middle East. Chronologically the authors list the documents dealing with the anti-Semitic problems in this country." Many newspapers, wishing to please some of their readers and advertisers, take the easy way out with a difficult subject and run the release - blurbs verbatim.

"Some of My Best Friends ... "--a strange title--was given the next ADL book which was published in 1962 by Farrar, Straus & Cudahy, authored by ADL's two masterminds--Forster and Epstein. The title is intended, of course, as a crack at those "bigots" who excuse some deeply felt forthright expression by adding-"Some of my best friends are Jews." The Foreword to the book by Henry E. Shultz (at that time national chairman of the Anti-Defamation League) says of the authors: "The burden of their message is that anti-Semitism in America today expresses itself not in the crudities of a lunatic-fringe as in the 1930s . . . American anti-Semitism today is expressed in patterns of discrimination built into many of the basic institutions of our society . . . This is the big scandal which this book reveals in its myriad details."

We will not go into the contents of this book as it follows the same general pattern of its forerunners - belaboring those whom it charges with being anti-Semitic, bigots, hate-mongers and Right-wingers. These scribes are champions at the business of "labeling" which is the very crime they charge against others. In their books, pamphlets, magazines, films and other propaganda media they present a sort of blurred tapestry of evil gnomes who are pictured as being everywhere at work but, outside of a few names which they have horsewhipped for years, they have to be content with dramatizing a mystical world which is filled with their pet shibboleths such as "bigots" and other overworked terms of detestation.

The question has been asked that if there is as much bigotry and anti-Semitism in the world as these books (and other ADL literature) seem to indicate, could not part of the cause be due to the natural law of physics-reaction or response to the excited stimulus of resistance? Something of a hint that all of this fuss and fury may be a bit overdone comes from one of ADL's own friends. Mr. Nathan Ziprin, writing in the B'nai B'rith Messenger (April 27, 1962) said: "So much has been written about anti-Jewish discrimination that I have developed a resistance to new material on the subject. I make this confession in the full knowledge of the implications. But let us be frank, not even books on anti-Semitism are sacrosanct. Therefore when I recently received a review copy of 'Some of My Best Friends . . .' I was tempted to place it on my reference shelf . . . However, on examining the index, I was intrigued by its general lack of reference to overt anti-Semitism. I found the reason . . . the central focus . . . is on the institutions and patterns of prejudice which exclude Jews from full participation in all facets of American life"

If the central focus of these books is, as Mr. Ziprin concludes, that Jews are excluded from full participation in all facets of American life, it would seem that these authors have been doing too much "home work" and not getting around enough. They should take a look at our great banking institutions - at industry - at the great stores and chains in the retail field-at the newspaper business - at the entertainment world including music, pictures, radio and TV - in all the bureaucratic departments of Government - in just about every activity in America - and they will find that their people have been doing very well indeed in this country.

## **DANGER ON THE RIGHT**

Now we come to 1964-and the ADL book called "Danger on the Right." This is authorized by the seasoned ADL scribes - Forster and Epstein-who have become quite proficient in giving the same old theme a slightly different stage-setting each time. On the cover of this book is the statement that it deals with "The Attitudes, Personnel and Influence of the Radical Right and the Extreme Conservatives." The book is divided into 16 chapters - each of which deals with some group who is anathema to the ADL authors - and then these chapters (or groups) are classified into two sections of the book. One section is called "The Radical Right" and the other is called "The Extreme Conservatives." The book has a Preface which begins with these words: "The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith is deeply concerned with the American political process, but it does not engage in partisan politics."

This could be the major understatement of the 1964 Presidential election year. On the opening page is a Testimonial "To the Memory of John F. Kennedy." Then comes a Foreword by Dore Schary, the Hollywood producer who was elected as chairman of the Anti-Defamation League February 3, 1963. In his Foreword chairman Schary says: "The authors of Danger on the Right have attempted to write a definitive book on the attitudes, personnel and influence of the Radical Right and the Extreme Conservatives on the American scene. I believe they have succeeded." Schary builds up an image of what he regards to be the "radical Right," mentioning the "radical left" very softly and then says- "The Radical Rightists . . . are, in short, irresponsible and, therefore, necessarily dangerous." Not so, apparently, the "radical Left," judging by his indictment only of the radical Right. Proceeding, he says--"It has been estimated that some 20 per cent of the American electorate can be grouped as Extremists on the Right-wing. Therein dwell the Radical Rightists and the Extreme Conservatives." Then he proceeds with some intemperate definitions of whom these befuddled persons would vote for. "Opposing them," he says, "are some 25 or 30 per cent of Americans." He doesn't classify the first 20 per cent as "Americans." Then he says this leaves some 50

or 55 per cent as "the prize to be won." We judge, then, that this book is dedicated to the purpose of persuading or frightening this 50 per cent, who are wandering helplessly somewhere in between these two groups, to join with the dedicated left-liberal "true Americans." In the Preface of the book the authors reveal more about themselves than they prove about their mythical enemies. They say- "Ironically, the Radical Right's analysis of all national and international problems is rooted in a conspiratorial concept. Everything is blamed on a 'Communist conspiracy'." Two questions arise out of this. First some of their readers might suspect they are being soft with the Communists by picturing them as only a figment of the imagination of the Right. Could it be also that the authors have so long bemused themselves as to a "conspiratorial plot" against the Jews that they now have become obsessed with the delusion that other people also have a 'conspiracy neurosis?' "In the eyes of the Radical Right," the Preface continues, "the American Republic is imperiled on almost every front by this Communist conspiracy which, says the Radical Right, has been entrenched in Washington for the last thirty years, and which has been softening up the country for an Imminent 'Communist takeover'."

The answer to that is that it was during this last thirty years that Communist espionage cells were implanted in our Government agencies - that our atomic secrets were betrayed to the Soviets - that over 600 Communist front organizations operated in the United States (as recorded in Congressional records) - that Hollywood became the easy prey of Communist manipulators (also in the record) - that the Morgenthau-White and other scandals developed in Government - that spy episodes and other exposures of Communists and their dupes culminated in what became widely known as "the mess in Washington." All of this cannot be brushed aside by these ADL writers for it is all in the records--including the names of those who were the main actors in that tragic drama. The authors of "Danger on the Right" must have either short or convenient memories. "These Radical Rightists, all too often," say Forster and Epstein, "aided by their conservative allies, pose a threat to our democratic institutions." Here is a completely hypothetical and meaningless statement which presumably the authors hope the careless reader will rationalize into some kind of actuality. The book's preface then taking to its favorite theme about "peddlers of racial and religious bigotry" says further - "These racists and anti-Semites like the Radicals, believe the Republic has been and is being sold out from within . . . The conspiratorial theory of the bigots is the same as that of the Radical Right, but with the extra noxious ingredient of racial and religious hatred."

This ugly language reflecting dire semantic poverty is apparently intended to stir imaginations and excite emotions. The identification of these evil-doers is not given, except by devious inference, that is, by also including in the book certain groups who are listed as part of a mythical "Radical Right" or "Extreme Conservatives." It is by this disingenuous linking that the authors would seem to create an unfavorable impression of the Church League of America. The chapter dealing with the Church League of America is included in "The Radical Right" section-and this further identification is given: "In the field of religion no Far-Rightest group has exercised greater influence among clergymen themselves than has the Church League of America." The remainder of the chapter is mainly a brief story of its structure and work. It is not this particular part of the story to which the Friends and Sponsors of the Church League of America object. The book has not dared directly to implicate the Church League with such ugly words as "anti-Semitism" or "bigotry." They have, however, apparently undertaken to accomplish this very thing by preceding these organization-chapters with a Preface that is loaded with inferential and libelous innuendo which have the intentional or otherwise effect of applying these opprobrious terms to any organization or person otherwise included in the book. If it should be allowed to stand it could be expected very soon that name of the Church League of America would be bandied about by careless (or not so careless) persons in the same breath with these nasty terms which, by the record seem to be the stock-in-trade of the Defamation propagandists. This book "Danger On the Right" may be more dangerous to its sponsors than to anyone else!

**DANGER ON THE RIGHT** (By Arnold Forster and Benjamin R. Epstein)

## PREFACE

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith is deeply concerned with the American political process, but does not engage in partisan politics. Our interest is democracy, which includes our system of public elections insofar as the political process can be misused to destroy our democracy. Many Americans have the inaccurate impression that the Anti-Defamation League's sole concern is anti-Semitism. Even in its beginnings, at the turn of the century, this agency was not concerned solely with anti-Semitic activities. We believed at the time as we believe now, that to defend and strengthen the rights of any group of Americans reinforces the right of all-and therefore the very structure of our democracy. Citizens who have observed our activities must have noticed our continuing concern with domestic extremist political movements. In the thirties the ADL fought and Nazism in this country, not only

because these movements victimized minority groups, but because ADL recognized that they tore at the democratic structure of our society.

Over the years the League joined in the struggle against an amorphous isolationist movement crystalized at different times in an America First Committee a Christian Front, and in McCarthyism. ADL fought the resurgence of the Klan after the Supreme Court desegregation decisions, as well as the anti-Catholic propaganda which made its appearance in the 1960 election. Today the United States faces new attacks on our democracy by an extremist movement which has mushroomed in the past few years and which is broadly referred to as the Radical Right. This movement, together with its allies among Right-Wingers, now spends a minimum of \$14,000,000 a year in an assault on our democratic progress; consequently, the Radical Right, its conservative allies and those who support them, become a vital concern.

Considerable research by ADL's staff into the operations of this movement turned up no evidence that the Radical Right - as distinguished from its conservative allies - should be regarded as part of this nation's responsible political fabric. On the contrary, the evidence is that in reality it is a fringe political activity, and no more sound as a political position than the troublesome Communist conspiracy. The Radical Right sometimes has surrounded itself and often functions with certain characteristics of secrecy, furtiveness, and hidden motivation - marks of an organized conspiracy, which it is not. Ironically, the Radical Right's analysis of all national and international problems is rooted in a conspiratorial concept. Everything is blamed on a "Communist conspiracy."

In the eyes of the Radical Right, the American Republic is imperiled on almost every front by this Communist conspiracy which, says the Radical Right, has been entrenched in Washington for the last thirty years, and which has been softening up the country for an imminent "Communist takeover." The softening-up process, in the mythology of the Radical Right, has resulted from the advocacy by the "conspiracy" of socialism in domestic policy, and sellout and softness in foreign affairs. This Radical Right mythology differs in degree and intensity, but not in kind, from the viewpoint of the Extreme Conservatives. The latter also view American domestic policy of the last thirty years as socialistic and dangerous, and our foreign policy of the same period as prone to softness and appeasement in dealing with the Communist threat.

The basic difference is that, unlike the Radical Right, the Extreme Conservatives generally do not tend to ascribe the alleged socialism and softness to any sinister plot in high places, but rather to blindness, stupidity, and bungling on the part of four Presidents and their liberal advisers. Nevertheless, if there are some differences in interpretation of recent history between the Radicals of the Right and the Extreme Conservatives, there are also similarities which are noteworthy. If these two wings of the American Right differ on the reasons for the fancied perils and problems the country faces, they agree basically on the nature of the "evils" they fight-Federal taxes, Federal spending, Federal social welfare programs, and Federal regulation of private business, as well as foreign aid, UN activities, and negotiations with the Soviets.

This basic similarity of viewpoint has led to an ideological blur between these two segments of the American Right. The less extreme often "fellow-travel" with the Radicals of the Right, much as some Liberals fellowtraveled with the Communist Left twenty or thirty years ago. As a result, individual Conservatives today often lend their names, their sponsorship, and their financial support to organizations and causes of the Extremists.

Since 1960, the Radical Right and the Extreme Conservatives have been pouring millions of dollars into a propaganda campaign aimed at influencing American public opinion, often by disseminating pure fright along with distrust of respected American leaders and established institutions. These Radical Rightists, all too often aided by their conservative allies, pose a threat to our democratic institutions. They undermine confidence in the integrity and patriotism of our elected leaders, our judicial system, our military leaders, our educators, our clergy, our labor leaders - from Washington all the way out to the smallest community in the country. They attack the integrity and patriotism of local officials, clergymen, teachers, and librarians. This multimillion-dollar-a-year propaganda campaign is financed by an impressive but comparatively small number of tax-exempt foundations, business corporations, and wealthy individuals - plus the one to five dollar contributions of hundreds of thousands of average citizens who have been frightened by this propaganda barrage and who, to an alarming extent, have succumbed to it. The rabble-rousing gutter bigot, who combines political extremism with promoting racial and religious hatred, is often classified as part of the Radical Right. That is an easy error, for the peddlers of racial and religious bigotry who have sullied the national scene in the last thirty years have been, almost without exception, far to the Right in their political thinking. These racists and anti-Semites, like the Radicals, believe the Republic has been and is being sold out from within by a sinister conspiracy, deeply entrenched in the national capital. But their view of recent American

history differs from the picture of the alleged conspiracy which is painted by the Radicals of the Right, who do not normally peddle race and religious hate. I

n the eyes of the rabble-rousers, the fancied sellout of the American Republic over the last three decades results not from the mere presence in powerful positions of leaders who are pro-Communist, but from a sinister, secret, powerful pro-Soviet Jewish conspiracy. The bigots equate liberalism, socialism, and communism with Judaism. Often they chide the Radical Rightists for "pussyfooting" and for failing to brand Jews as the real culprits in American political life who have, since the days of the New Deal, instigated the policies at home and abroad that have brought the Republic to the brink of an internal Red take-over.

The conspiratorial theory of the bigots is the same as that of the Radical Right, but with that extra noxious ingredient of racial and religious hatred. In the gradations of American Right Wing activity, the opinions of the Radical Right, expressed by men such as Robert Welch, Founder of the John Birch Society, may blur with those of the Extreme Conservative. This "blurring" merits study and is examined in this book. But, to repeat, neither the Birchers and their like-minded Radical Right allies, nor the Conservatives who often fellow-travel with them, should be confused with gutter-type extremists like George Rockwell, head of the miniscule American Nazi Party. Rockwell is a publicity-seeking nuisance, a concern only at the police precinct level, and forms no part of the really capable, efficient, well-financed, and truly dangerous movement of the Radical Right, which, quite unlike Rockwell, poses a very real threat to American democracy.

The Anti-Defamation League has continuously fought against all racial and religious bigotry. Anti-Semitism is one aspect of such bigotry. Anti-Jewish discrimination still persists in American life. But despite Rockwell and a handful of similar gutter-level bigots, there is no such thing in the United States today as an effective, nationally organized anti-Semitic movement.

Such scattered overt activities as do exist are carried out by a corporal's guard of rabble-rousers, streetcorner hoodlums, and old-time platform spellbinders and pamphleteers. The dozen or so professional hate racketeers such as Rockwell, Gerald Smith, and the late Conde McGinley will therefore not be the measure of this book's concern. The Radical Right (and its conservative allies) will be because it is a force that receives and spends millions of dollars every year to influence untold numbers of Americans with extremist propaganda. There can be no doubt Radical Rightists are motivated by a hatred and fear of many twentieth-century developments in the economic and political life of our nation and the world, in which we Americans now play a major role. They make a profession of warning America about hazards they think they see. They urge people to watch out lest coddling of labor unions brings the welfare state one step closer. They sound the warning that fluoridation is but a chemical softening-up process preliminary to Communist brain-washing. They shout to beware of social security as a large step forward in socializing the Republic. They signal an alarm that the income tax is simply a means of pauperizing the rich in favor of the poor in order to communize the United States. They admonish in urgent voice for all to believe that the United Nations is a weapon the enemy is using to destroy American sovereignty and deliver us to the Bear.

Their fears and warnings are, to all purposes, baseless. The real danger is that in continuing endlessly to cry wolf, they confuse and divide America, diminishing her ability to recognize a real peril when it appears on the horizon. They constitute a serious threat to our democratic processes. The Radical Right (and their conservative supporters) are the real and proper concern of this book, as they should be the concern of all Americans.